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ABSTRACT
        This paper discusses some of the methodological
issues facing language trainers who are required to identify the
second language needs of adult learners within a specific vocational
context, namely business sales negotiations. It also proposes a
research model that responds to the difficulties of matching learner
perceptions of language and cultural needs with the realities of the
negotiation situation. The model was developed by analyzing 30
interviews with Irish sales representatives with varying levels of
knowledge of German who had conducted negotiations with
German-speaking customers. The model consisted of a simulated sales
presentation and negotiation session, followed by a debriefing of
both sellers and buyers. The interviews and simulations demonstrated
that all sellers had difficulty in listening to and understanding
potential buyers. For this reason the majority of sellers found it
difficult to implement an interactive strategy of listening to and
questioning potential buyers about their needs. Sellers also found it
difficult to read the sales situation in which they found themselves
and the personality of the potential buyer, largely due to cultural
differences in conversation and negotiation styles. In conclusion,
the paper warns of relying too heavily on learner perceptions of
second language needs and competence. (MDM)

"Needs Analysis in cross-cultural Sales Negotiation: Bridging the Gap between subjective and objective Needs."

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The message as to the importance of foreign languages has in recent years been emphasised in countless articles in newspapers and specialist publications, not only in Ireland but in other smaller countries which have an export-oriented economy. The proliferation of such articles, targeted at local business people, has been in response to the advent of the Single European Market and the growing realisation that the Rip van Winkle syndrome which has long characterised attitudes to language learning within the British Isles must be cast aside. The problem has always been and continues to be that there is a quantum leap between recognising a need and taking the appropriate concrete steps to satisfy the need. In this respect business people represent an extremely vulnerable group. Within an Irish context, many of those who determine company policy on language training have themselves never participated in such programmes and the tendency is to apply general business principles, such as value for money, to language learning. One might posit that the growing tendency amongst adult business learners to opt for one to one tuition, above and beyond the advantages of flexibility which this type of arrangement offers, is a reflection of the belief that intensive exposure is the most cost-effective way to learn the L2. In reality this naive view of language learning must often result in business executives embarking on programmes which do not best correspond neither to their own nor to the needs of the company.

The question which, however, has not yet been satisfactorily answered is how the needs of adult business learners can be identified more precisely and the right types of programme designed. Research has shown that it is not always possible to depend on the perceptions expressed by potential learners regardless of whether the researcher selects a "diagnostic", "discrepancy"or "democratic" approach (Berwick1989).

The first part of this paper sets out to illustrate some of the particular methodological issues facing language trainers when they are required to identify the language needs of adult learners within one specific vocational context, namely the area of sales-negotiation, and to propose a research model which responds to the difficulties of matching learner perceptions of language and cultural needs with the realities of the negotiation situation. The second part of the paper aims to demonstrate, using this model and taking concrete

examples from an ongoing project focussed on Irish-German sales negotiations, the dangers of relying on learner identified needs.

Ideally, such research should be based on empirical analysis of actual observed sales negotiations, recorded on video and subsequently examined using the techniques of discourse and conversational analysis. In reality, for reasons of confidentiality and the effect which the presence of a third-party can have on the process and outcome of negotiations other methods of data collection must be explored. Some researchers encountering similar problems have adopted qualitative techniques such as guided interviews (Beneke and Nothnagel 1988) or had recourse to quantitative methods involving the use of negotiating games and subjecting identified variables to statistical evaluation (Graham 1981; Neu 1985). Although both approaches allow us to examine the process of negotiation, which is important from the perspective of identifying specific language behaviours which recur during the interaction, neither provides on its own a sufficiently generalisable and reliable measure of negotiating behaviour.

Several problems arise in the case of interviews: the possibility of leading the interviewee thus producing a halo effect, distortion in interpretation, with the researcher interpreting the data according to his/her own subjective norms, which are themselves culturally determined, and the respondent often expressing attitudes purely on the basis of personal experiences. Similarly and more critical to the present study are the doubts as to the reliabi ity of respondent perceptions of their own behaviour. As Richterich pointed out: "Experience has shown that the learner is, in general, little aware of his needs."(Richterich 1983, 3)

By contrast, the use of negotiating games has tended to go hand in hand with deductive, quantitative methods of analysis. Hypotheses are generated and tested using statistical procedures to overcome the problems of generalisability. Advocates of this approach point to the fact that the vast number of situational and individual constraints in any communicative event diminish the value of participant observation (Graham 1981, 103). Saville-Troike (1982,119) in the ethnographic tradition, states that quantitative measures are essential to an empirical study in order to ensure sufficient generalisability, but are alone inadequate as they often suppress variables which although statistically

insignificant can prove instrumental in the outcome of a particular interaction. Arguably, even if one attempts to limit the number of situational variables, it is impossible to control the range of individual variables, a factor which on the positive side surely lends greater authenticity to this technique of data collection. It is also worth bearing in mind, that in spite of any effort to reduce the complexity of negotiation, it is ultimately a speech event constructed on the basis of how individuals interact with one another. Companies which propound a particular type of selling culture and try to train their salesforce in this mould, must reckon with the preponderance of individual personality traits in pressurised negotiating situations.

Obviously, generalisability and reliability are central to any research which takes as its brief the design of course materials. It is important, however, to develop a model of data collection which allows the researcher to separate the individual dimension of negotiation from the shared components. Using retrospective interview techniques should ideally create a broad context in which to establish a profile of export sales personnel, provide access to individual and collective affective factors which impinge on negotiation processes and help to identify recurring types of language behaviours and difficulties in the L2 negotiating situation, all of which are products of the L1 culture and the way in which the foreign language has been learned. This does not, however, by itself guarantee an appropriate level of reliability and generalisability. It is necessary to test the "subjective needs" generated through interviews as to the perceived language and cultural behaviours of Irish negotiators against "objective needs" (Richterich, 1980), in other words, what actually happens. The desired outcome of this approach should be a model based more centrally on 'process-oriented' interpretation which, to quote Brindley, sees needs "primarily in terms of the needs of the learner as an individual in the learning situation." (Brindley 1989, 63)

In the absence of any opportunity to observe real negotiations, the use of simulations can provide the essential counterbalance to the subjectivity of qualitative interview techniques. Critics of simulations emphasise, above all, their lack of authenticity, yet fail to suggest an alternative. Bearing their misgivings in mind, it is important that the simulation exercise is designed in such a way as to allow the participants to build their own personality traits and negotiating experience into the role brief and to retain their usual behaviour. Only in this

way can a significantly higher degree of authenticity and reliability of the observations be achieved. Once an element of emotional involvement enters into the simulation the experienced negotiator is unlikely to alter his behaviour radically and the dynamics of the interaction prevail. Likewise, the concept of face is once again a powerful factor in ensuring the commitment of both parties to the task which they have been set and ultimately helps to strike a balance between the integrative and competitive dimensions of negotiation. To quote Goffmann, "normally everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each others' face... ."(Brown and Levinson1967, 66) Negotiation represents one of the most extreme examples of the role 'positive' face which even in simulated situations regulates the interaction between the various parties.

Where adult learners are concerned, the subjective cultural baggage brought to the intercultural negotiating situation is arguably one of the critical factors influencing their approach to doing business in L2. If the researcher is to try to relate individual perceptions of intercultural sales negotiations to observed negotiating behaviour a dual approach such as that outlined above is indispensable. The case for a dual approach can be argued more tangibly with reference to an analysis of 30 interviews conducted to date with experienced Irish negotiators and to the video taped cross-cultural simulations. The interviews draw attention to learner perceptions of language and cultural needs whilst the simulations underline how wide the gap between subjective and objective needs can be.

The interviewees are broadly made up of exporters who have studied German at university, subsequently acquiring a business qualification, or pursued an interdisciplinary degree course such as Business Studies and German, and those who have been thrown into the L2 culture with little or no previous knowledge of German and forced to sink or swim after minimal training in the L2, usually in the form of an intensive course. Within this grouping some of the respondents had spent several years in the interim in a German speaking country. Others had some exposure to German prior to moving to the L2 culture and built on this knowledge by attending intensive courses in Germany.

The majority of the interviewees, irrespective of group, have received no formal sales training in L2. Learning inductively or "on the job" is the norm: many have simply accompanied a senior manager to the export market and watched him/her in action. Others have learned by observing German agents or distributors. Equally, a significant number of interviewees claim to have simply transferred their L1 sales techniques to the L2 situation. The dangers of adopting this approach are particularly insidious in a situation where the cultural differences are less overt, say for example in Irish-German as opposed to Irish-Japanese negotiations. In the less competent L2 speaker who has not developed the capacity for critical reflection in the foreign language and tries to explain the foreign culture by L1 terms of reference, seeking explanations for behaviour within his own cultural frames, the opportunities for misunderstanding are multiplied. Moreover, the indication by some researchers that listeners tend to explain and evaluate human behaviour more in terms of the personal characteristics of the speaker than on situational criteria (Lalljee1987, 40), might lead us to posit that if the learner possesses limited linguistic and cultural competence in the L2, the likelihood of this is increased considerably, thus serving to further cultural stereotypes and to reinforce existing affective preconceptions.

Within each of the groups, there is clear evidence of considerable difficulty experienced by the respondents in describing their language needs in respect of sales negotiation situations, and more specifically the linguistic and cultural problems encountered during same. We might expect this trend to predominate amongst sellers who have little or no formal training in L2, in reality many of those interviewed who have studied the foreign language over a much longer period interpret their experiences in the same black and white terms.

All interviewees asserted that they felt confident in negotiating sales in the L2. Looking at answers to one particular question which asked respondents to pinpoint difficulties which they encountered in understanding, speaking, non-verbal communication and in respect of cultural differences during the course of a typical negotiation, there would on the surface appear to be few major problems. Most apparent was the claim made by the overwhelming majority of respondents that difficulties with 'understanding' were restricted to certain

dialect forms and technical terminology. In respect of speaking some negotiators indicated that they find themselves concentrating so hard on how to phrase an idea that they run the risk of losing their train of thought. Similarly the lack of time available to think proved problematic to negotiators at all levels of language proficiency. No seller identified problems with turn-taking or structuring arguments and only a couple alluded to difficulties with cultural differences; those identified tending to be the most obvious, i.e. formality and use of honorifics.

One could rapidly gain the impression that Irish-German sales negotiations run like clockwork. It is by examining the way in which Irish exporters describe their approach to negotiation in the foreign culture, how they perceive their German counterparts and the manner in which they seek to deal with these aspects, that a broader picture emerges as to potential areas of friction and we are provided with a more comprehensive source of information as to the perceived components of successful negotiations.

Negotiators who have studied the L2 at third-level would appear, in general, to adopt a more cautious approach to the negotiating situation. They are conscious of the necessity to earn credibility and to assess each sales negotiation and customer individually. Ideas as to how personal credibility can be achieved also tend to advocate a strategy which shows respect for the L2 culture, whilst stressing that the negotiator should assert his identity in a positive manner. In this vein, several of the respondents have mentioned the fact that Irish negotiators should be more prepared to argue with the German buyer, a point which might be interpreted as a desire to be seen and treated as an equal and to establish oneself as a serious contender.

The notion of credibility also seems to be linked to a perception expressed by the interviewees as to the need to speak accurate, i.e. grammatically correct German and to master some of the basic rules of discourse competence, albeit if the latter are expressed in general terms, such as stressing the importance of 'link words' so as to avoid sounding stilted and knowing when to interrupt someone. Indeed, the role of grammar is attributed considerably more weight amongst respondents with third-level language training. As one exporter pointed out: "Speaking fluent, correct German gives you a psychological advantage." Those

with less formal L2 training tend to emphasise fluency before accuracy, in one case underlining potential tactical advantages which can be gleaned from using a badly constructed sentence: 'It makes the customer think'. These conflicting attitudes to grammar simply underpin the fact that as in all interviews the perceptions are based on individual experience.

There is a general appreciation of the significance of gaining a broader cultural perspective on the context of the negotiation, of understanding the socio-cultural boundaries created, for example, by the *du/Sie* demarcation and variations on same, such as the use of first names and *Sie* and their implications for the development of the business relationship. By the same token, opinions differ widely as to how such an appreciation can be developed. Interestingly, analysis of the questionnaires would appear to indicate that negotiators with less formal training in L2 are more likely to take socio-cultural risks in the L2 situation. One respondent noted that he intentionally breaks etiquette by suggesting use of *du* after 5 minutes if he feels that he has judged the situation correctly. He views this as a tactical ploy and believes that being a foreigner allows him to get away with it. One or two less experienced L2 speakers, whilst respecting German business procedures, would appear to be more eager to try to get the German buyer to accept aspects of the Irish business approach, an example being attitudes to formality/ informality. One can only hypothesise that this might be traceable to a lower 'comfort feeling' in the foreign culture.

Moreover, many of the interviewees perceive Southern Germans to be more like themselves and the atmosphere during such negotiations to be more relaxed. Only a few stated that underneath this they are just as demanding as their North German counterparts and cash in on their easy-going image. Indeed, it would be a worthwhile exercise to carry out a study on the influence of accent and dialect on the perceptions of non-native speakers of their native speaker counterparts and vice versa. In this context reference might be made to Giles and Powesland's research into the relationship between accent and perception of the speaker amongst native speakers. They report on a study carried out in Britain showing that nonstandard accented speakers were often "found to be more favourably evaluated (...) with respect to personal integrity and social attractiveness ... . More specifically, the nonstandard speakers were perceived as less serious and more talkative, good natured and humorous than the RP speakers." (Giles and

Powesland 1975, 68) One can only speculate at this stage on the transferrability of these findings to intercultural contexts.

To return to a point mentioned earlier; what is striking in reviewing the interviews is the general level of confidence expressed indirectly by Irish exporters as to their L2 negotiating competence. If one seeks to interpret this apparent comfort one possible explanation can be offered: sales negotiations are highly structured speech events which follow a more or less clearly defined pattern. It is relatively easy to predict the stages through which they progress in a specific culture. In Irish-German sales negotiations the overt structural differences are minimal: negotiations progress through comparable phases, the most tangible cultural variation for the L2 speaker being the amount and position of small talk. Likewise, if a seller knows his product well he can from habit anticipate certain customer questions and reactions. This provides him with a sense of security which, in turn, may conceivably deflect attention from his actual linguistic performance.

The two main points which are confirmed by the interviews are that the way in which sellers approach negotiation is to a large extent determined by individual personality and that the respondents have considerable difficulty reflecting on and verbalising language and cultural problems experienced in negotiating situations. Although many of the observations in the questionnaires are recorded by a significant number of the respondents, there are equally as many contradictions, illustrating the impossibility of drawing any generalisable conclusions as to the language and cultural needs of Irish sellers in Germany using only this type of qualitative method. With reference to the criterion of reliability, the researcher is left with the impression that whilst all the sellers are convinced of the authenticity of the record which they have presented of their negotiating behaviour and are satisfied with their negotiating performance in the L2, this is not the full picture.

To exemplify the extent to which self-perception and reality can differ and to illustrate the potential value of the proposed research model, it is useful to examine in detail one of the recorded simulations and then to refer briefly to 3 further simulations. Questionnaires were completed by the sellers and buyers

before the simulation was recorded, in order to provide an insight into their objectives and the strategies to be used.

The simulation was developed by this researcher and focussed on the sale of facsimile equipment, assembled by an Irish company, to a large German food import and distribution company. It contained the potential for a large sale, with the prospect of future business. This emphasised the notion of relationship building with the potential customer, which is more valid in an intercultural context.

All the participants were experienced sellers and buyers and used to dealing with technical products. The buyers were all native speakers of German, working for German companies in Ireland. The sellers had L1 English and each had spent extended periods in German speaking countries, both studying and in a work situation.

In the first simulation, the seller, who had studied German in conjunction with International Marketing at university and had been learning German for 11 years, stated during the pre-simulation interview that as part of her strategy she intended to ask plenty of questions in order to find out as much as possible about the buyer's current position and to get him listening. The approach is central to her negotiating philosophy, expressed also in the earlier interview, and relies on the fact that the buyer will ultimately recognise his own needs. She also stressed that she was interested in developing a long term relationship with the buyer and in getting him interested in the solutions to problems that he as yet doesn't know that he has.

As the negotiation progressed it became obvious that the seller was encountering problems in fulfilling her intended strategy. One of the main objectives of any seller is to gain control of the conversation, usually by asking questions and listening carefully to the responses of the buyer and subsequently turning the information obtained in this way into sales advantages. Analysis shows that the seller does not have control of the conversation, nor does she succeed in controlling its direction and pace. This aspect is underlined by the internal rhythm of her speech. Changes in the rate of articulation fluctuate between extremes of hesitation and fluency, giving alternately the impression of

uncertainty and over-eagerness. Her credibility and conviction threatens to be compromised at times by excessive use of hedges and imprecise qualifiers, which might equally be interpreted as indicators of a desire to be cautious. In this particular context the result is, that instead of giving precise facts which most German buyers tend to be looking for, the presention of the company and its products comes across as woolly. It is apparent how the buyer endeavours to hurry up the conversation, in some instances by completing sentences for the seller, elsewhere by interrupting her, usually with a request for confirmation such as 'das heißt', provoked by the seller's tendency to longwindedness which obscures the important and relevant facts. The irritation of the buyer at not getting factual answers to his questions becomes pronounced at one point during the price negotiation. In the post hoc interview he simply noted that a German salesperson would make his presentation 'knapper'(more concise) and 'härter' (sharper) and provide more focussed product information.

The first part of the sales presentation is guided largely by the buyer's questions. When the seller does take the initiative and asks the buyer about his own firm, many questions show what appears to be a lack of focus. By the same token, some of the responses of the buyer provide details about the company structure which would have offered an ideal opportunity for the seller to ask more appropriately targeted questions and turn the information into arguments to promote her product. This demands both intensive listening skills and an ability to convert the points made by the buyer into benefits or advantages of the product. When a question is posed its force is often weakened substantially by falling intonation and low voice. At a later stage in the negotiation, the cogency of many of the seller's arguments is compromised through poor structuring and insufficient use of appropriate cohesive devices, particularly when put under pressure by the buyer, further contributing to the lack of consequentiality and unbalanced rhythm of many of her utterances. This aspect is also aggravated by inconsistent use of deictic markers. In the debriefing the buyer makes the observation:"Nicht alle Gedanken wurden konsequent in Vorteile übersetzt."

Indeed, one of the most obvious examples of the potential unreliability of subjective perceptions emerged in respect of listening. In the post hoc interview the seller expressed the belief that the behaviour which had the most impact on the buyer was her listening ability. By stark contrast, the buyer recorded that the

seller had difficulties with listening and was more interested in reeling off general arguments than responding to his needs.

Although the seller recognised in the debriefing that she had been longwinded and 'chewed over words' causing the buyer to complete sentences for her, and that she had some difficulties with technical details, facts and figures, she did not identify any other problem areas relating to conversational management, and expressed satisfaction with her performance.

Many of the problems identified above in respect of consequentiality of argumentation, use of questioning techniques, hedges and fillers, and of phonological difficulties, notably intonation, recur to a greater or lesser extent in the other three simulations to which I will now refer in broad terms.

The participants in these simulations had all had studied German at school. One had taken an Arts Degree in German, one had studied International Marketing and Languages (French and German) and the third had taken German as an optional subject for 1 1/2 years as part of an Engineering Degree.

One of the main difficulties which all the sellers seem to experience is listening to the customer. Moreover, it is one of the strategies which the sellers emphasise in the pre-negotiation interviews. The problem, although not confined to cross-cultural exchanges, becomes much more pronounced in same by virtue of the fact that the seller's rate of processing as a non-native speaker is slower. Indeed, it is obvious in the simulations that one of the principal weaknesses of the sellers is the pursuance of an interactive strategy of listening and questioning techniques which will enable them to steer the interaction and ultimately to identify precisely the buyer's needs. The strategy of simply letting the buyer talk does not always by itself provide access to the information prerequisite to this identification. In the post hoc interviews two of the sellers recorded that they didn't succeed in getting enough information out of the buyer. The respective buyers noted that in one instance the seller had given away too much information initially without considering how the discussion might unfold and should have taken more notice of the logic behind some of the arguments proposed by the buyer, whilst the other buyer recorded that the seller had tried

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to make him buy machines which were technically too sophisticated for this requirements.

An additional point, also witnessed in our previous analysis, is the more general issue of how well the seller reads the situation in which he finds himself and the individual personality of the buyer, and adapts his selling techniques to these variables. This means being able, where necessary, to adopt German norms of sales negotiation. As in the case of the first simulation, one of the other buyers noted that the seller was 'viel zu umständlich', a fact to which the seller remained oblivious. Another simulation featured a buyer who quite obviously liked to talk and avoided all unfilled pauses. This places the seller in the dilemma of deciding whether to let the interaction follow the rhythm set by the buyer or to accelerate the pace. In this instance the seller took the former option and the negotiation meandered to a mutually acceptable conclusion. One is tempted to speculate that had the seller taken the initiative and simply been more proactive in her questioning to ascertain the buyer's needs, that the extensive nature of the discussion, especially on price, which in fact almost prevented the sale being closed, could have been greatly curtailed. A non-interventionist approach which allows the buyer to indulge his own loquacity does not necessarily, from the point of view of identifying needs, serve the best interests of the seller.

Aiming to control the interaction in an assymetric relationship such as that of seller and buyer involves treading a careful balance which can be misinterpreted as aggression rather than enthusiasm. The same applies to the principle, advocated by some of the 30 interviewees, of being prepared to argue with the buyer. In one of the simulations this tendency resulted in the buyer recording that although impressed by the seller's enthusiasm, he found aspects of his behaviour and body language aggressive and had to rein him in on occasions: "Ich mußte ihn ein paar Mal bremsen." The seller was unaware of the effect which he had produced.

Interestingly, two of the sellers expressed general satisfaction with the outcome of the negotiation, but not with their linguistic performance. However, as in the first simulation, dissatisfaction tended to centre on tangible features of lexis and ability to formulate ideas in German, notably translating directly from English-German, rather than on constructs of discourse competence, such as internal

cohesion, on conversational management, on interactional rhythm, on phonological difficulties, where the real weaknesses which arguably have a greater impact on negotiation outcome and negotiatior credibililty, would appear to lie.

In this paper I have set out to illustrate some of the potential dangers of relying too heavily on learner perceptions of intercultural sales negotiation and of their performance in same, and sought to highlight how simulations might be used as an effective counterbalance to retrospective interview techniques in order to provide a more reliable and generalisable measure of the difficulties encountered by sellers. From a pedagogical perspective it is hoped that the combination of techniques of data collection will ultimately provide the basis for the development of teaching materials which endeavour to mediate between objective and subjective needs and thereby respond more accurately to the needs of the adult business learner.

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